COLONIZATION.

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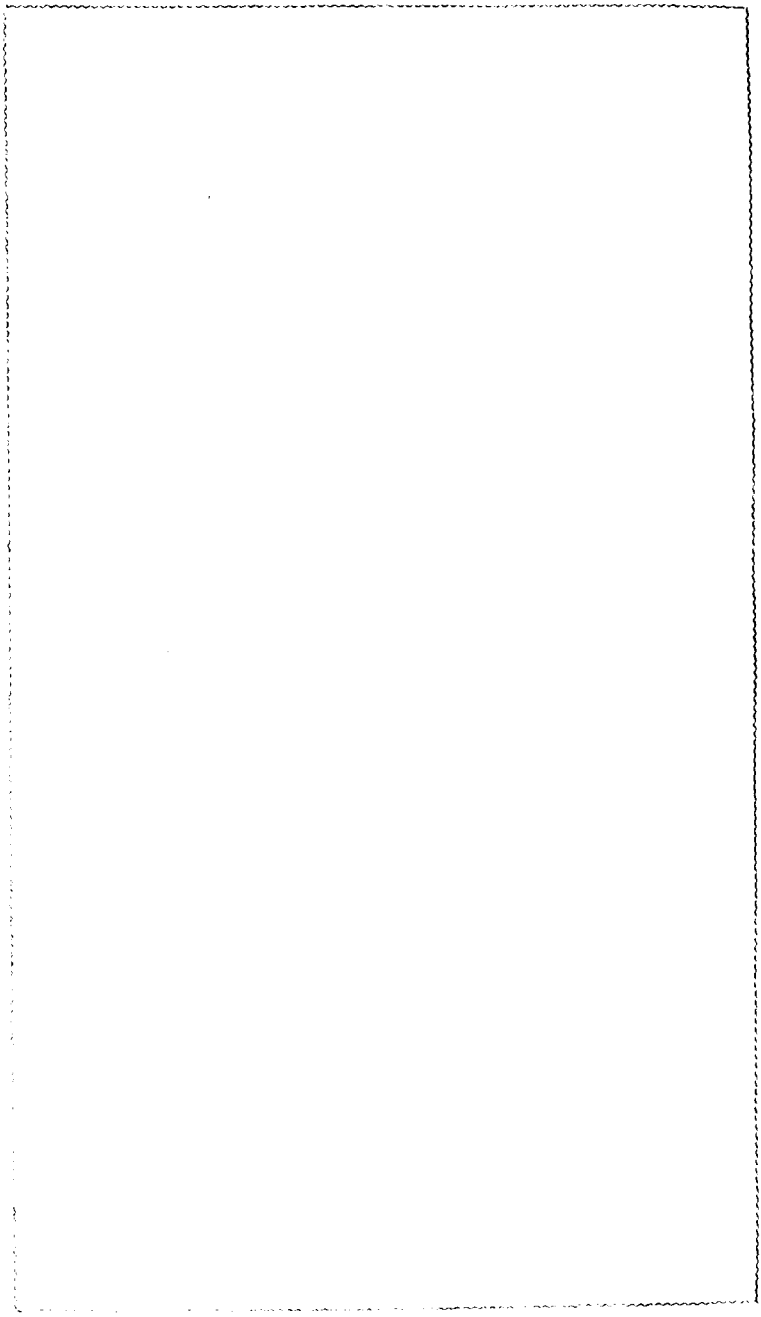

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COLONIZATION.

A NOTICE OF

VICTOR HUGO'S VIEWS OF SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES,

IN A LETTER FROM

JOHN H. B. LATROBE,

OF BALTIMORE,

TO THOMAS SUFFERN,

OF NEW YORK.

BALTIMORE:
PRINTED BY JOHN D. TOY.

1851.

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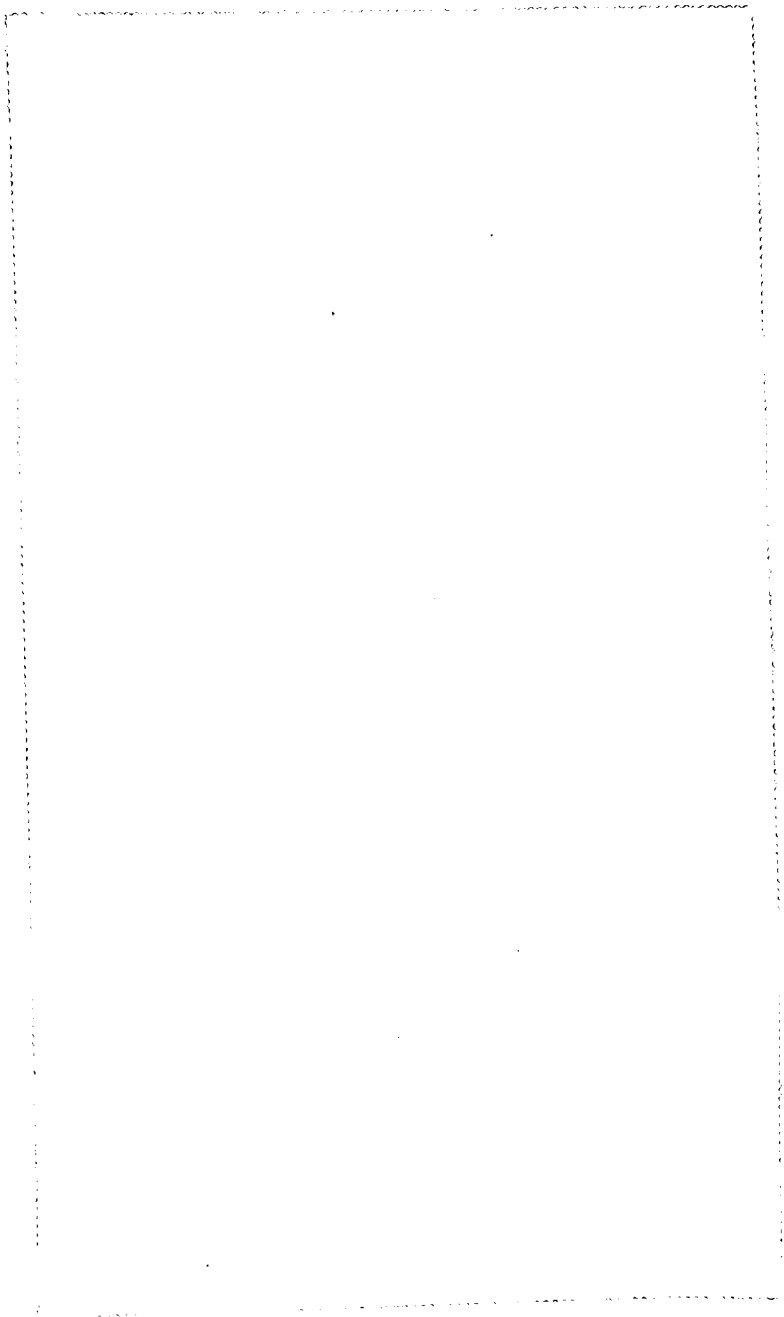

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THE following letter was written at the instance of two valued friends, during an August visit to Newport. It made its public appearance first in "THE NEWPORT DAILY NEWS," from which it found its way into other newspapers in different parts of the country. The calls upon the writer for copies have led to the publication of it in the present shape, for distribution among his friends, with such additions and alterations as seemed to be necessary to correct the carelessness of the original hasty composition.

BALTIMORE, SEPT. 15, 1851.

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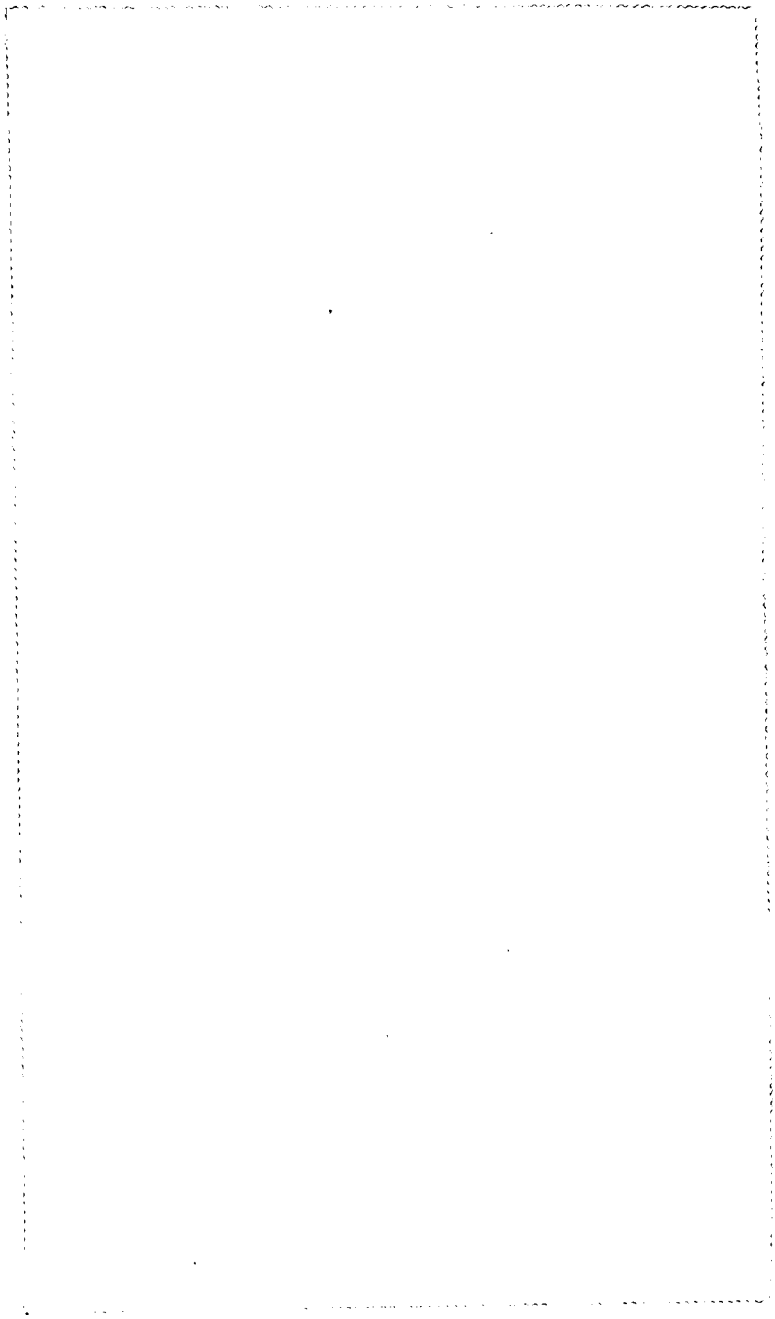

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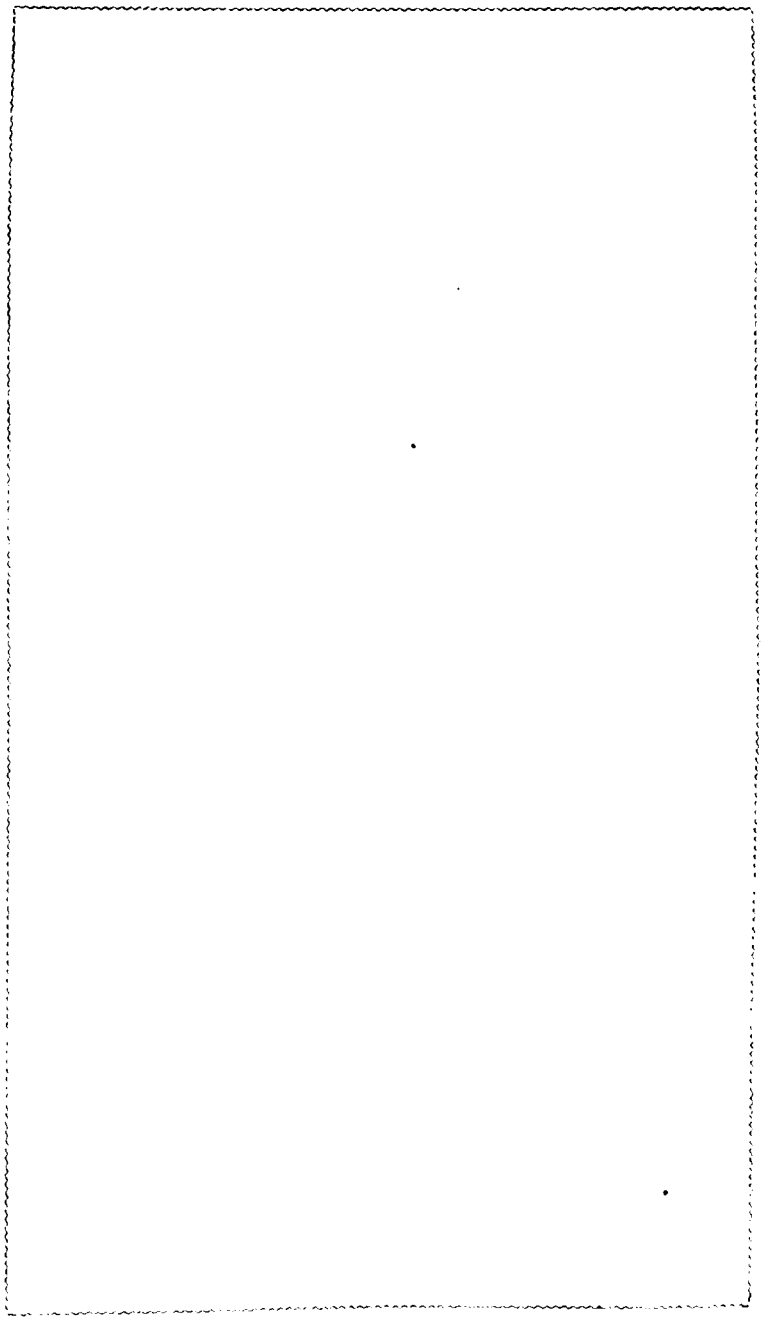

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"There must be in every well-constituted State a certain homogeneousness of parts. Not only is it necessary that the governing power be supreme, and free from any dread of subversion; but the several members also of the body politic must be in harmony, both among themselves and with the governing power likewise."

"A foreign mass in the midst of a society with which it cannot assimilate is as a dead member, through which the life blood of the body social does not circulate; if inactive, it becomes the seat of putrescence and gangrene, which will shortly spread throughout the whole system, unless recourse be had to amputation. But in a community where this heterogeneous part is active, being quickened by motives and interests of its own, the disorder becomes ten fold worse. It has no emblem, unless we imagine the body of a man possessed at once by two discordant spirits."

JOHN L. CAREY'S "THOUGHTS CONCERNING DOMESTIC SLAVERY."

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TO THOMAS SUFFERN, ESQ.

OCEAN HOUSE, NEWPORT, R. I.
August 20, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR:

THE following is, probably, the substance of my remarks, during my conversation yesterday with Mr. J. W. Coleman and yourself, with Victor Hugo's letter to Mrs. Chapman, of July 6th, 1851, on the subject of Slavery in the United States, before us. I commit them to paper at your request.

The letter of Victor Hugo is characteristic. It has been translated so as to do justice to the terse and epigrammatic style of the author. Argument it scarcely pretends to; and while you feel, that it is calculated

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to produce wrong impressions, and obtain an influence to which it is not entitled, it is difficult to find any salient point on which to hang the true view of the subject.

The best way, perhaps, will be to consider the letter as the expression of a strong sympathy on the part of the writer, in the labors of a lady engaged in promoting the cause of Anti-Slavery,—or, to speak more accurately, Modern Abolition, in the United States. Indeed, Victor Hugo begins by saying, that he has been desired by her "to lift up his voice;" and so he does.

It is plain that both of these persons belong to the class which desires the immediate emancipation of the slaves in the United States, under the impression, that, not only will the country be relieved, thereby, from a stigma which they assert rests upon it, but the emancipated slaves will, at once, be elevated to a proper rank in society, and permanently benefited. Both of them, it is taken for granted, would shrink from the idea of a master's destroying his slave in order that he might clear his conscience of the guilt of holding him in bondage. Nor would they, knowingly, sanction the employment of any means which indirectly, no matter how remotely, produced the same result. This being the case then,

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if we can shew, that the success of their projects involves the sacrifice of the objects of their benevolence, they must either admit such projects to be altogether wrong, or disown what we have accorded to them,—an honest purpose to benefit the black race. The reply to them, therefore, which will cover, too, whatever there is of argument in Victor Hugo's letter, must be found in an enquiry into the probabilities of the future, should their anticipations be realized, that "within a time, not distant, the United States will repudiate Slavery with horror."

Nothing is easier than to cry out "emancipation forthwith:" but there are a good many practical difficulties in the way of it, which modern abolition, whose characteristic is a total disregard of circumstances, does not seem, heretofore, to have taken into consideration. The care of the aged, the insane, the idiotic, infants without mothers, and mothers helpless because of their very infants, which now falls upon the masters of slaves, but which would be the duty of no one, were the masters discharged from the obligation, would be a matter of no little consequence and difficulty, in the event of a general and immediate emancipation. But, suppose this and all other practical difficulties to be surmounted, we come to the time, when, legislation having done every thing

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in its power, the country would present the spectacle of two free races, of different colors, with equal rights, as citizens, under the law:—the black race, composed of colored persons born free and emancipated slaves, numbering some four millions, and the white race, composed of native born whites and whites from other countries, numbering some twenty-one millions.

But, however liberal legislation might be, there would be some things which it could not do. It could give political, but not social position. It could empower the emancipated slaves to hold property and to vote, which has been already done in some of the States; but it could not remove the prejudice which the white population entertain against their race. It could not change those physical characteristics, which affect association with them, either as regards their appearance or otherwise. It could not induce fathers to give their daughters to them in marriage, or reconcile the daughters to receive them as husbands. Nor would this impotency of the law be of present duration only. As already said, some of the States have done for the negro race, all that legislation could effect, and this too, generations since. But no where do we hear of any such a change in public opinion, or any prospect of such a

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change, as promises, now, or hereafter, to better their social condition in any of the particulars we have just mentioned.

Legislation, then, having exhausted itself, without having been able to remove the prejudices of the whites against the free blacks or emancipated slaves, or give them social position, it would have to be admitted, as one among the probabilities of the future, that the two races, thus separate and distinct, would forever remain so, or, remain so, at least, until amalgamation, supposing that, under any circumstances, it could be relied on, became common and available. Whether, when color was no longer the badge of servitude, intermarriages and the gradual absorption, in many generations, of one race into the other, would take place, must of course be a matter of speculation. That these intermarriages are now repugnant to the general feeling of our entire country, is a fact, and as such may be dealt with. The future is a conjecture wholly,—about which one man's opinion may be entitled to as much consideration as another's. Prejudice, however, is traditionary; and even after the white generations which have seen slavery have died out, the prejudices, originating from that condition, will be handed down from generation to generation, maintaining and strengthening the barrier which color,

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now and forever, must interpose to any general amalgamation.

This point is dwelt upon because of its importance. It lies at the root of the questions at issue. If emancipation, present or gradual, is to produce amalgamation by intermarriage between the white and black races of the United States, as they will at any time stand related and affected towards each other, we give up the case. A belief to this effect is the only apology for modern abolition.

The past furnishes no grounds for such a belief. All the probabilities of the future are against it. No argument has been attempted to support it. We doubt whether it has ever found a dozen respectable and open advocates. So that we assert again, at the risk of unnecessary repetition, that the two races, whatever might be their legal rights, would remain separate and distinct, while they continued to occupy the same land. On the truth of this position our argument rests. Of this each one must judge for himself. The reasons of our own faith are inferences drawn from existing facts.

The next point of enquiry is the probable relations of these two free and distinct races, while occupying the same land. On this point it was to have been expected, that Victor Hugo's sympathy

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with what he calls "the august cause of slavery,"* and a natural curiosity as to the subsequent condition of the new-made freemen, would have induced him to make some investigations; especially too when he had at hand, in history, ample sources of information. He does not appear, from any thing that his letter contains, to have done so.

Had Victor Hugo reflected, as would have been proper, before he committed himself by writing his letter of the 6th July, he would have remembered that all history teaches but one lesson on this point of the enquiry, which is, that TWO RACES WHICH CANNOT AMALGAMATE BY INTERMARRIAGE, CAN EXIST IN THE SAME LAND ONLY IN THE RELATION OF MASTER AND SLAVE; OR, IF BOTH ARE NOMINALLY FREE, IN THAT OF THE OPPRESSOR AND THE OPPRESSED.

The instances are striking, numerous and notorious. The Moor, superior in learning to the Spaniard, but not amalgamating with him, was expelled the land, or remained as an ill-treated inferior. The Saxons and the Normans were in continual strife, until intermarriages amalgamated them as one people. Our own country, in its Indian history, presents another instance of the truth of the dogma. In Mexico, the

*It is presumed this is a mistake of the translator. Most probably, the original reads *de l'esclave*—of the slave.

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Spaniard and the Indians amalgamated, and formed one people: but, what a people!!! In the old United States, it is true, that some of the best blood of the land, noble in spirit, steady in purpose, and brilliant in talent, flows down from an Indian maternal ancestry to the present day: but yet, the Indian in our country will soon be a memory only. There was an experience therefore to which Victor Hugo might have referred, touching future probabilities, should modern Abolition, whose advocate he is, be triumphant in the end. It is, indeed, a pity that he did not take a broader view of the subject, than he seems to have done, before, at the instance of Mrs. Chapman, he wrote the letter which we refer to. Had he done this justice to himself and to us, an indifferent cause, we think, would have lost the weight of a great name—but humanity might have been none the worse off on that account.

Nor is history, in its teachings in regard to the relations of two races that cannot amalgamate by intermarriage, while living in the same land, without the confirmation of every day's experience, in our own country.

In the city of New York, where the negro may be a voter, he is not permitted to drive a dray or a cart. I am not aware whether this is by law, or is the effect

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of a combination among white competitors: but the inference is the same in either case. In Philadelphia, he has again and again been made the object of attack by an infuriated populace. In Cincinnati, to protect him from such attack, it has been necessary to parade cannon in the streets. Boston and Hartford have both witnessed scenes of violence, when the negro was the victim;—and yet all these cities are in free States, where the negro has enjoyed for years nearly, or quite, all the rights which law could give to him. What hope is there of a different and better future for the black man in these respects? What prospect is there of a present change for the benefit, either of those now free, or the whole race, should a general emancipation take place? None under the canopy of heaven! A more barren present, a more hopeless future than that of the free colored people of the United States cannot exist. America is the white man's home, and his exclusively. God hath so appointed it.

So far from the future's holding out a prospect of better things, each day of the future as it is absorbed into the past, makes matters worse for the free blacks,—small as is their present number, compared with the whole colored population, which, through the agency of immediate emancipation, it is proposed to

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make a free race. Every arrival from Europe is a sign and a warning to them. During the year 1850, the total immigration to the United States from all foreign countries, can hardly have been less than four hundred thousand persons; persons of a class, that, at once, enter into competition with the black man in all the avenues of labor—and in most of them drive him to the wall. In Baltimore, my home, ten years since, the shipping at Fell's Point was loaded by free colored stevedores. The labor at the coal yards was free colored labor. In the rural districts around Baltimore, the principal city of a slave State, free colored laborers, ten years since, got in the harvest, worked the mine banks, made the fences, and, indeed, supplied, to a great extent, all agricultural wants in this respect. Now all this is changed. The white man stands in the black man's shoes; or else, is fast getting into them. And where, fifteen years ago, nearly all the signs above shop doors on Fell's Point showed English names—now two-thirds of them are German; a fact of notoriety and almost daily comment.

In Cincinnati, the labor that used to be performed by free blacks in the great pork establishments, is now performed by white men, Irishmen and Germans; and, as Mr. Coleman can bear witness, coming as he does

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from that city, the firemen on the steamboats on the western waters are now whites, where they used to be free colored men. The negro's song, as he filled his furnaces, has ceased on the Ohio and the Mississippi. Instances of this sort, where the white man has driven the black man to the wall, might be multiplied indefinitely.

Nor must it be forgotten, that this state of things exists at a time when there is a mighty drain upon the Atlantic border for laborers to supply the vast country lying between the crests of the Alleghany and the shores of the Pacific. But this drain cannot last forever; and when it ceases, should the two races, which we have shown must ever remain distinct, still occupy the land, there will be a strife for bread, fearful and murderous; a strife to be described in all its horrors by some future Victor Hugo, should talent, such as his, be perpetuated for the occasion; a strife in which the fate of the weaker, and colored race, may be terribly imagined; a strife, for which Ireland would have furnished a prototype, had its population, in 1847, been divided into white and black, in the same proportions as they exist in this country, and entertaining the same feelings towards each other, that prevail here; and had two men of different color been required to divide between them,

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the loaf not sufficient to satisfy the craving appetite of one starving wretch.

The teachings of history, therefore, and every day's experience, combine to satisfy us in regard to the probable condition of things in this country, should Mrs. Chapman's labors and Victor Hugo's uplifted voice succeed in accomplishing the purposes of modern abolition. Nor can the result be obviated, unless by the amalgamation of the white and colored races of our country, by intermarriage between them; a thing which many of those shouting louder even than Victor Hugo would recoil from in disgust. Whether this disgust is a prejudice, or an instinct, it is not necessary to enquire: we speak of it as a fact.

The probable condition of the two races, supposing both free, has been inferred partly from the actual present condition of the two, when only a portion of one of them is free. With the condition of the slaves in the United States, the present argument is in no wise connected. The slave is protected and provided for by his master. He does not come into contact, to his prejudice or inconvenience, with the white labor already in our country and thronging into it from all other countries. It is upon the free black, left to shift for himself, that the agencies we have been describing operate. As he is affected now, so

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will the whole race be affected when the whole race is free.*

But, putting aside the idea of a general emancipation, occasional emancipations, often of whole families, oftener of individuals, are constantly taking place; and this and the natural increase of the free blacks would seem, wholly irrespective of modern abolition, to be bringing us nearer to the time, when there must be a strife between the whites and the free blacks, if they persist in remaining together; so that, apart from Victor Hugo's letter, which is answered by showing, from existing facts and fair inferences, the condition to which the scheme in which his voice has been "lifted up," would reduce the objects of his bounty, it becomes important to enquire how the evils of a state of things, to be anticipated, at any rate, can best be obviated.

In other words, looking upon slavery as an existing institution, which all such efforts as those of the individuals in question, must be powerless to affect, in any other way than to corroborate it, and which has no other relation to results than as emancipations from it, more or less frequent, may add to the number of free blacks; and looking to these last as alone

* This subject of distinct races is admirably, and at length, discussed in John L. Carey's "Thoughts Concerning Domestic Slavery."

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interested in the present enquiry, and as being numerous enough to make the subject, as it affects them, one of the deepest interest, both politically and philanthropically,—we ask the question,—what is to be the result of their presence among us; and, if it is an evil, how is it to be obviated? And, leaving Victor Hugo, we go to this branch of our subject.

The nature of the evil suggests the character of the remedy. If the two races cannot live together, except in the relations we have referred to, they must separate. The COLONIZATION of the free negroes, and of such slaves as may be emancipated, from time to time, is, in other words, the only remedy.

When, from any cause, a family or a nation ceases to live in harmony, separation, or colonization, if you please, is and ever has been the remedy. All colonizations, too, have been alike, with some differences in the impelling motive; and, leaving out of view the penal colonies of different countries, and some pauper emigrants from Europe to the United States—it will be found that colonists have, as a general rule, left their old homes to better their condition, at their own cost. Of the same character must be the colonization of the free colored people of the United States. The must go for their own good; and they must ultimately pay their own expenses. As a class, they are

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better able to do so than the Irish and German emigrants who come in ship loads to America. They have, generally, when destitute, more friends to help them than these have. The country to which they must emigrate has been designated, not by the societies that have established colonies there, but by our common Maker. It is the only country in the world where the white man cannot live; and fever and death will protect the black emigrant in Africa, as with a wall of flame, from being followed by his old competitors, in search of the golden sands, which are brought down by the Niger and the Cavally, as well as by the Sacramento and the San Joaquin.

It is the country to which circumstances will ultimately force him to remove. Circumstances, advancing beyond all control, with the crushing force of an avalanche; but, unlike an avalanche, slowly and with due warning, so that they who perish before them will be the authors of their own destruction.

What these circumstances are, we have already indicated, in speaking of the condition of the two races in this country, so far as both are now free, and of the hopelessness of any change to benefit the weaker, until their separation shall take place. To illustrate their present effect, even upon intelligent free colored persons, I will venture to mention to you

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one or two cases within my own recent personal experience.

Within the last two months, a colored clergyman of the Methodist Church, called on me, as the President of the Maryland State Colonization Society, for some information connected with the Society's affairs. He had, some years before, seceded from the religious society to which he belonged, and had been enabled, through his activity and popularity, to build up a church for himself. The cause of his secession was the stand which the Methodist Church had taken in favor of colonization, to which the person alluded to was then bitterly opposed. He was a well-informed man on general subjects, and had been practising physic with success, among his own color, for several years. After his business was concluded, I asked him to tell me frankly, why he was going to Africa, not only with his own family, but with some fifty or sixty of his friends, who proposed to accompany him. His answer, as nearly as I can recollect, in words, was this: "My practice as a physician has been gradually increasing from year to year, and is now larger than ever it was. My patients are generally the same individuals. My popularity, as far as I can judge, is unimpaired; but my income has, year after year, been growing less and less, and is now less than ever it

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was. My wife and myself have been struck with this, and for a year or two have been discussing the cause of it; and we have come to the conclusion,—indeed, sir, we had no other to come to,—that my receipts diminished as the condition of my patients grew worse and worse in pecuniary matters. I saw that they received less money than they used to receive. White men were getting into places which they used to fill. Others, of my friends, with whom I consulted, had, I found, come to the same conclusion. We saw no chance of things getting better; and, therefore, we are going to Africa, while there is a society ready and willing to pay our expenses, and before the times grow darker than they are."

Another colored man, a drayman of more than ordinary intelligence, doing well, earning enough money for his support and able to lay by something, gave me as *his* reason for going, that the Irish and Germans were getting into his business: that the old feeling among the whites, which had induced them to employ colored men by preference, no longer existed; that every year made matters worse; and that, seeing this, he determined to emigrate, while he was still young enough to do something in his new home.

I run the risk of wearying you with these anecdotes; but, falling within my own knowledge, they are

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to me corroboration strong of the views, which are here expressed, in regard to the imperious effect of the circumstances I have referred to.

These circumstances, left to themselves, would bring about the gradual removal of the free people of color quietly, and as an event of natural occurrence,—exciting no more surprise than the sailing of vessels with passengers for San Francisco does in one of our sea-ports. But they are *not* left to themselves. Their action is hastened by the very persons who deny their operation, or are struggling, to the utmost of their abilities, to obviate it. *Modern abolition*, which dates some twenty years back, *has done more to promote the ultimate success of colonization, than all the agencies which have been set on foot, with that object directly in view.* And how? Why, by making the relations between the two races a matter of constant agitation; by forcing the public mind to think upon the subject; by bringing almost all men to the conviction that amalgamation is out of the question; by creating jealousies between the two races, which have always resulted to the prejudice of the weaker; by making the owner of slaves a more suspicious and harder master than he used to be; by exciting him against the free blacks, as the agents through whom massacres might be planned in

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neighborhoods, or on plantations, like that at Southampton, in 1831; by destroying the affectionate relations, which all familiar with the South know were at one time characteristic of the mixed white and black population; and, so at last creating a conviction, now rapidly growing and soon to become universal, that, as freemen, the two races can only live in happiness when separated, through the agency of that very colonization of which modern abolition has ever been the opponent.

Victor Hugo may turn to Mrs. Chapman, and ask her if this is so; if the agitation, into which he has been persuaded to throw himself, can really have had results so prejudicial to those in whose cause he has embarked: and Mrs. Chapman may tell him, as she doubtless believes, that the writer is mistaken. But, in proof of what we have said, we refer to every candid man who has lived in any of the great cities since 1821: and more, we are willing to rely on the testimony of the intelligent free colored persons themselves, in Boston, New York, Philadelphia or Baltimore.

Nor could it have been otherwise. If agitation will put down error, it will develope truth; and the great truth, which was to be developed here, was that already so much dwelt upon, — that the two

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races, incapable of amalgamation, must separate, to be really free.

The colonizationist, therefore, has no real ground of quarrel with the abolitionist, so far as results are concerned. On the contrary, if his opposition has retarded emigration, he deserves his thanks, for he has forced him to adopt the rule of "festina lente"—in this, as in so many other instances, the best guarantee of permanent success. The only true ground of complaint against the abolitionist is the fact, that he has prejudiced the comfort and the cause of those, whom both colonizationist and abolitionist, according to their respective lights, are laboring to benefit.*

But it may be said, that the colonization societies are wholly incompetent to the end they aim at. Now

* While this pamphlet has been in press, intelligence has been received of the murder of Mr. Gorsuch, of Maryland, at Christiana, in Pennsylvania, whither he had gone in pursuit of some three or four runaway slaves, under the fugitive slave law. The perpetrators of the crime were free colored people, with one or two white men, who armed themselves in resistance of the law, and deliberately shot the owner of the slaves, and wounded his son. Time has scarcely elapsed for a full exhibition of the public feeling on the occasion: but enough is already known of it, to shew, that the crime of these desperate men will be visited, not only upon themselves, but upon the entire colored race, as it widens the increasing gulf between it and the whites; corroborating the conviction, which the text has dwelt upon as becoming general, that the happiness of the two races, when free, is inconsistent with their continuing together in the same land.

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a good deal depends upon what their aim is. If it is to remove the entire free colored population of the United States, with means to be obtained from legislatures and individuals,—then colonization is, indeed, a drop in the bucket, and not worth prosecuting as a political undertaking. It will do, then, as a missionary scheme, and will help in the suppression of the foreign slave trade; but nothing more. This is most freely granted. But if their aim is, or has been, to establish such a colony as the Republic of Liberia, which, growing in prosperity year after year, shall gradually become as attractive to the free colored man, as the United States is to the foreign emigrant,—emigration to which will be promoted, not merely by its attractiveness, but by circumstances in this country rapidly accumulating, and forcing the conviction on the free black man's mind, that the day will come when there will be no alternative for him, but extirpation or removal—then I say, as I do say, in the firm belief impressed on my mind by a close attention to the subject for near thirty years, that colonization has already fulfilled its great mission; that it exists now, only to facilitate what nothing can prevent; that the day and the hour are at hand when the Exodus must take place; not perhaps in this year or the next, in this generation or in that of our

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children, but soon, very soon, looking to the periods which measure the histories of the world and the nations thereof.

The finger of the Almighty has been apparent in the whole work of colonization. A nation is not to be transplanted like an apple tree. The black man's heart, enlarged in a sphere of real freedom, or dwarfed in the atmosphere which he breathes when his freedom is but a name,—is still a human heart, endowed with the finest sensibilities, capable of the highest improvement, as Liberia has already proved, clinging to the *natale solum* with vast tenacity, more so even than the white man's does; and the black man cannot, reasonably, be expected to remove from familiar places, without a struggling hold, yielding only to the sternest circumstances. It was necessary, therefore, that colonization should be a slow work. It must continue to be a slow one, measured, as its progress always will be, by human impatience. But there is ample time for it. The West, even unto the Pacific, is to be filled up. Space for years, for white and black, will be left for them to move in, without more than jostling: and the desire of the free colored people to emigrate, slowly formed as it must be, will increase with the increasing native and immigrant population of our country, with the growing commerce that is

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to furnish the means of a voluntary and self-paying colonization, with the capacity of the colonies to receive immigrants, and with a gradually enlarging intelligence among the latter, making them more and more fit to be the earliest citizens of the new republics. All this is well and wisely ordered. The cause is in His hands; and man may safely leave it there, judging even from the lights of his past experience. Had colonization gone forward faster than it has done, it would have smothered itself at Monrovia and Cape Palmas; and no more would have been heard of it. But, against the wishes of its friends—against their best endeavors, it has been kept back by One who knew better than they did; until each succeeding ship-load of immigrants having had time to establish themselves, the result has been the present well-ordered governments on the coast of Africa.

So much for the colonies. Every thing I have already said may, I am aware, be admitted, and still the effect upon our free colored population may be doubted. Let us look at facts in a parallel case, and draw our inferences from them.

The annual increase of the whole colored population of the United States, slave and free, was, ten years ago, some fifty-five thousand. The result of the last census I have not yet learned. The white

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immigration of the present year will be perhaps half a million. Did the same commerce exist between this country and Africa, that crowds this immigration upon us from Europe, it could carry an emigration to Africa that would, of course, release us from the whole colored population in a very few years, if all, slaves and free, were then permitted to leave America. As we all know, however, that there is not such a commerce, the whole question must turn upon the probability of its ever existing, and then again upon the likelihood of the colored population availing themselves of it as a means of leaving the United States. This last point has been already so fully considered, that I shall rest, in regard to it, upon what I have already said of the circumstances that must one day deprive the black man of the freedom of choice, and force him to emigrate.

But, while the commerce with Africa is comparatively small, yet it is one which is increasing with a rapidity surpassing anything known in commercial history, if we except the trade of San Francisco. It already far surpasses the commerce of the colonies of this country, when they were as old as the colonies on the coast of Africa—far surpasses it. It must grow: it cannot be stopped. A mighty continent—a quarter of the habitable globe, filled

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with a teeming population, is still to be supplied with all that civilization can produce; a population which, instead of perishing as the new comers press upon it, is of the same blood and lineage, and must unite with them as one people.

England has long appreciated Africa's capacity to absorb manufactures as her sands absorb the dews. Hence her attempts to penetrate into the interior by the expeditions which she has sent up the Niger: hence the costly establishments maintained by her on the coast. But the interior of Africa can be reached for commercial purposes but in one way, and that is, through the colonies of free colored people from the United States established upon her borders. Colonies of *white* men will not do, because they become charnel houses. Colonies of recaptured Africans will not do, as has been shown at Sierra Leone, because they want the civilization necessary to make them the agents of civilization in its relations with commerce. But the free colored man from America can live, for he is in the clime of his ancestors; and, being fully civilized, and Christian too, he is the agent, *and the only agent, that the world contains*, adapted to the purpose. He has already proved his efficiency.

In no aspect of colonization has it more inter-

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esting relations than in its commercial aspect. The strife now, among the great of the old nations, England at their head, England first and especially, is the opening of new markets; and in this all mankind is interested. *Her* manufacturers obtain better prices for their goods, are able to pay better wages, and to give more constant employment to persons dependent upon them. *Our* manufacturers are interested, first in a participation in the profits of the new market, and again, in being relieved, as the over production of the English manufactories finds its way into new countries, and no longer creates a glut, to the ruin of all parties, in our own.

Human ingenuity, now more actively at work than ever, has facilitated all the processes of labor. A flier is made to revolve more rapidly, and the already immense production of a cotton mill is doubled. The slow processes of human hands are becoming fast superseded by the lightning-like processes of hands of brass and steel. In a thousand instances, ingenuity is spurring on production, until the latter gets far ahead of the demand of the existing markets of the world.

Now, just at the time when this over production is taking place, and all the sufferings consequent upon a stagnant trade afflict the manufacturing coun-

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tries of the world, colonization comes into existence; being able, *alone able*, to throw open a world to be filled with the products of civilization; and competent, in doing so, to build up the commerce, which is to do for Africa, in the way of facilitating emigration from this country, what commerce is doing for Ireland, and indeed all Europe, in transporting their people to our shores. The wants of Africa, her demands for civilization and its products, will build the bridge of boats, which shall make the Atlantic a great highway between the two countries, crowded with those whom circumstances will not suffer to remain here, and whose departure will in this manner be facilitated.

Nor will this be the only effect of a state of things as certain to happen as the coming of tomorrow. Along with commerce will religion go: that gospel which Victor Hugo, with the confidence of prophecy, says we must "renounce unless slavery is renounced." Strange assertion! Does he not know that slavery, introduced during the colonial times, has existed in America for upwards of two hundred years? Does he not know, also, that during this long period, and down to the present time, the gospel has been preserved here in a purity and power, through wars and tumults, which, unless uni-

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versal report is wofully at fault, France herself might envy! Even Mrs. Chapman would, we doubt not, be willing to admit, that as a missionary enterprise, colonization had its claims to consideration; and she would probably even agree to aid it, were it to confine its labors to reflecting upon Africa that gospel light which now shines upon America, and which, we are sure, she believes will continue to shine, even though her correspondent predicts its extinction. But we are not without our hope, that Victor Hugo himself will one day admit, that if slavery has been driven in Turkey "from the hearth of Omar," where it has left Mahometanism behind it, by the way, it has been permitted to exist "at the hearth of Franklin," by Him whose ways are not as our ways, nor His thoughts as our thoughts, in order that a nation of missionaries might be formed, through whose agency the prophecy should be realized, which promises that Ethiopia shall lift up her hands unto God.

There is one paragraph in Victor Hugo's letter that we adopt most cordially, and we copy it entire:—

"There is an inflexible logic, which developes more or less slowly, which fashions, which reduces according to a mysterious plan, perceptible only to

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great spirits, the facts, the men, the laws, the morals and the people; or, better, under all human things, there are things divine."

Exactly so. But whether Mrs. Chapman or Victor Hugo are influenced by the sub-divinity here referred to may be questionable. One thing is certain,—that the Republic of Liberia and the Colony at Cape Palmas have been founded, and enjoy at this time an honorable and prosperous existence, by emigrants, the mass of whom were ignorant and unlettered, and whose success, unparalleled in the history of the world, can be attributed to nothing but the protection of the builder up and puller down of earthly kingdoms. The people who have done this are the only agents through whom, as already said, commerce can penetrate Africa,—the only missionaries, who, in the providence of God, can live there;—they afford the only efficient means of suppressing the slave trade, which, having accomplished the purpose for which divine wisdom permitted it, is to be extirpated by the children of those, whose fathers it brought from Africa, that their descendants might be fitted to extirpate it, when its end was answered.

African colonization was commenced in 1816, and since then it has gone on with uniform success,

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though slowly, until the results are the Republic of Liberia, and the State of Maryland's independent colony at Cape Palmas. The means with which these results have been produced, have been obtained mainly from individuals, except in the case of the Maryland Colony, which has been established through an appropriation of $200,000 from the State Treasury.* And, without entering into details, it may be stated roundly, and without fear of contradiction, that the history of the world presents no instance of a colonization as successful as this has been.

The ways of Providence are mysterious: but we think the divine agency which controls is rather more apparent in the success of the colonies that have been planted from this country on the coast of Africa, than it has been in the success which has attended the anti-slavery and abolition societies from their birth to the present day. Nor do we believe that there is anything, "perceptible only to great spirits," which either Victor Hugo or Mrs. Chapman has seen, to prevent our looking to the success thus far of colonization, as more likely to be the result of divine in-

*It deserves to be mentioned, to the honor of Maryland, that when she was for a time unable to pay the interest on her public debt, the annual appropriation to the colony, filled with free colored people who had trusted her, was paid punctually to the day.

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telligence, than the schemes which these two persons advocate.

The practical effect of modern abolition, thus far, has been to disturb the glorious harmony of a happy people, threatening to place brother in armed array against brother; while, at the same time, not only have all the friendly and affectionate relations formerly existing between the whites and the free blacks been, to a very great extent, if not altogether, prematurely destroyed, but the bonds of the slave have been tightened, and his privileges curtailed; so that the acts of their pretended friends have, in their results, been a curse to both bond and free.

Whether this ought to be so,—whether benevolence, because it is ignorant, should be tolerated and respected, when its theme is mischievous, and its practical working destructive,—whether the master should praise and thank him who excited his slaves to rise and break their chains over his head, that is, to murder him and his wife and children,—whether, were the world better ordered, this should not be so, is what we do not propose to argue. Taking the world as we find it, we rely upon the facts we know, rather than upon the speculations of a French poet and novelist—and a great poet and a great novelist, too—even when he raises his voice at the

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instigation of an American lady, who, we think, might have found advisers who knew more about the subject in her own country, than the gentleman whose "upliftings" we refer to.

This letter, my dear sir, is a very long one. But the subject is *the* great subject of the day—and is inexhaustible. I have endeavored to sustain the following propositions.

I. That the two races of white and black in the United States must forever remain separate and distinct, while they continue in the same land—whether all the blacks are free, or only a portion of them.

II. That a necessary consequence of this state of things, as illustrated by present experience, and in accordance with all history, must be, that the weaker of the two races, not actually held as slaves, must, directly or indirectly, be oppressed,—the extent of the oppression being in proportion to the occasions of collision between the two, in competition for employment.

III. That another necessary consequence of this state of things is, that the two races must separate—in this as in all other similar cases; or, in other words, there must be a colonization,—to be carried on like all other previous colonizations,—which may be facilitated by aid in the commencement, but in

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which, ultimately, the emigrants must pay their own expenses.

IV. That existing circumstances already press upon the free colored man the necessity of emigration, and that he is beginning to appreciate its importance. That these circumstances, growing mainly out of the vast increase of our white population, by native birth and from foreign countries, are accumulating beyond all control, and will ultimately leave the free colored man no alternative but emigration.

V. That Africa is the place for which he is destined; and that the colonies planted there, now the Republic of Liberia, are to be his ultimate home. That in Africa alone can he escape the white man's power; while the latter will be dependent upon him for all the missionary and commercial agencies in which he is interested.

VI. That, while the present means for emigration may be supplied by individual, or other aid, yet the commerce, which is rapidly growing up between Africa and this country, will, in a brief time—looking to the ends to be obtained—furnish facilities for the same emigration from America to Africa that is now taking place between Europe and this continent,—an emigration which would soon relieve the United States from its entire free colored population—

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and towards which, where the Irishman or German has one motive to leave Europe, the free black man has ten to leave America.

In these propositions is involved the answer to the arguments of all those, including Victor Hugo, if you please, who favor modern abolition as a means of benefiting the blacks. It is not my purpose to discuss the subject of slavery in the abstract. The scope of this letter does not include it. So far as colonization may promote emancipation, by inducing masters to free their slaves to go to Africa, who would not free them to remain in this country, so far only is it connected with the subject of slavery, and no farther. Slavery is an existing institution, guaranteed by the constitution under which we live. Men may think what they please of it, but have no right to interfere with it. If the question were put, whether the United States would not be better off with a homogeneous population of white men, than it now is, the majority would probably be found to reply in the affirmative. But when, first and foremost, the now evident result of the abolition movement is a curse to the objects of it; when it wages a war against existing rights already protected by fundamental law; when it threatens to dissolve a

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Union like ours,—it is the duty of good men and true to stand up against it, even when its cause is sought to be promoted by the epistolary eloquence of an American lady, and the "uplifted" voice of a French poet. Anti-slavery—a false friend to the colored race, because of its own ignorance—seeks for freedom through emancipation, *without reference to results.* The true friends of the colored race, *looking at consequences*, consider them in their action, and, believing that the two races to be happy must be separated, advocate colonization.

In thus complying, at so great a length, with the request of Mr. Coleman and yourself, I have been, very probably, far more diffuse than was necessary. My prolixity must be taken as an evidence of a desire to gratify your wishes, on the part of,

Dear Sir,

Yours, very truly and respectfully,

JOHN H. B. LATROBE.

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VICTOR HUGO TO MRS. CHAPMAN.

[TRANSLATION.]

MADAM:

I HAVE scarcely any thing to add to your letter. I would cheerfully sign every line of it. Pursue your holy work. You have with you all great souls and all good hearts.

You are pleased to believe, and to assure me, that my voice, in this august cause of slavery, will be listened to by the great American people, whom I love so profoundly, and whose destinies, I am fain to think, are closely linked with the mission of France. You desire me to lift up my voice.

I will do it at once, and I will do it on all occasions. I agree with you in thinking, that within a definite time,—that within a time not distant, the United States will repudiate slavery with horror.

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Slavery in such a country! Can there be an incongruity more monstrous. Barbarism installed in the very heart of a society, which is itself the affirmation of civilization; liberty bearing a chain; blasphemy echoing from the altar; the collar of the negro chained to the pedestal of Washington! It is a thing unheard of. I say more, it is impossible. Such a spectacle would destroy itself. The light of the nineteenth century alone is enough to destroy it.

What! Slavery sanctioned by law among that illustrious people, who for seventy years have measured the progress of civilization by their march, demonstrated democracy by their power, and liberty by their prosperity! Slavery in the United States! It is the duty of this Republic to set such a bad example no longer. It is a shame; and she was never born to bow her head.

It is not when slavery is taking leave of old nations, that it should be received by the new. What! When slavery is departing from Turkey, shall it rest on America! What! Drive it from the hearth of Omar, and adopt it at the hearth of Franklin! No! No! No!

There is an inflexible logic which develops more or less slowly, which fashions, which redresses ac-

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cording to a mysterious plan, perceptible only to great spirits, the facts, the men, the laws, the morals, the people; or better, under all human things, there are things divine.

Let all those great souls who love the United States, as a country, be re-assured. The United States must renounce slavery, or they must renounce liberty. They cannot renounce liberty. They must renounce slavery or renounce the Gospel. They will never renounce the Gospel!

Accept, Madam, with my devotion to the cause you advocate, the homage of my respect.

VICTOR HUGO.

6 July, 1851, Paris.

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JOHN H. B. LATROBE TO VICTOR HUGO.

BALTIMORE, September 26, 1851.

SIR:

I HAVE the honor to enclose to you a publication suggested by your letter, of July 6th, to Mrs. Chapman.

The authorship of this letter has arrayed you as one of a party, small indeed in numbers, but whose violence and perseverance have done much to establish relations of unkindness, if not of hostility, between two sections of a great Republic, which the interests of true freedom, and of the human race, require should be united,—to interrupt that march, which, you are pleased to say, has, "for seventy years, measured the progress of civilization." Your name, sir, is the name of no common man. Your

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reputation is one, which gives weight to whatever you may say:—and, if, in the publication which is sent to you, the endeavor has been to shew how much you are in error, the pains that have been taken must be considered as the best evidence that can be furnished of the high estimation in which I hold your talents and your influence.

That you have assailed his country, is the only justification needed, by even the humblest of her sons, in an attempt to vindicate her.

I have the honor to be,

With sentiments of high consideration,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN H. B. LATROBE.

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